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## PRESIDENT WILSON'S HOLY ALLIANCE

NDER the joint impulsion of the American President and the Russian revolutionary committees the Western Allies are drifting into a strange and very doubtful argumentative position. Mr. Lloyd George with apparent zeal, M. Ribot with obvious reluctance, and Signor Sonnino with a very bad grace, indeed, have all thought proper to recite the new confession of faith which has been propounded at Petrograd and Washington. The Allied nations have been given to understand that we are fighting to suppress the Hohenzollerns and to confer on all peoples, more especially upon the German people, the boon of "democracy." According to this reading of the matter we have no quarrel with the Germanic populations, but, on the contrary, are animated by the most benevolent sentiments towards them. It seems that we are really fighting as much for their benefit as our own. We propose to deliver them from their brutal militarism, to release them from the rule of dynastic autocracy, and to give free play to all their nobler instincts by means of genuine Parliamentary government or perhaps even by the stimulating warmth of republican institutions.

It is certainly very kind of us, and shows a super-Christian tendency to return good for evil. As a reward for rape and pillage in France, for robbery and massacre and enslavement in Belgium, for the wholesale murder of British merchant seamen and passengers, for the killing of women and children and old men in our towns, for the shooting of Miss Cavell and Captain Fryatt, for the ill-treatment of our prisoners

and wounded, for the broken pledges, the lies, the treacheries, the perjuries, and all the other infamies of the past three years we are to make our enemies happy, contented, prosperous, and tranquil. Ex hypothesi democracy does all these things: the country that receives it is thrice blessed. And it is this blessing we are determined to bestow upon Germany, so that this fortunate country will really gain much more than ourselves by our victory. It must be singularly comforting to the men who limp homeward maimed from the trenches and to the fathers and mothers whose boys lie dead in Flanders to reflect on this remarkable result of their efforts and sacrifices. And we hope British and American taxpayers will be consoled for having thousands of millions piled on to their national debts by the thought that with the money they will have bought political emancipation—for Germany!

On the other hand, it may occur to a good many of the aforesaid Britons and Americans that it is no business of ours to bring social well-being and political stability to Germany, assuming that democracy would produce such results. Still less is it our function to remodel the institutions of that country in accordance with the ideas of our own advanced thinkers. There is no proof whatever that the Germans are yearning to throw off the Hohenzollern yoke, or that they have been dragooned into war against their inclinations. It was not the Hohenzollerns who caused respectable German families in Berlin and Cologne and New York to celebrate the "Lusitania" massacre with feasting and revelry. It was not the Hohenzollerns who set the whole German Press raving with the foulest outcries of hatred against England, and induced German matrons to congratulate one another when they were told that the Zeppelins had set the streets of London running with the blood of English women and English children. And though it may be true that the Kaiser could have prevented the war, it does not appear that his subjects are in the smallest degree discontented with him for not preventing it. On the contrary, they went in with him, heart and soul; and if his expectations and theirs had been fulfilled by speedy and complete success, there is every reason to suppose that they would have supported him in exacting the last pound of flesh, the last ounce of gold, and the last inch of territory from their defeated antagonists.

The truth is that we are waging war against the German nation, and it is unctuous and rather absurd to pretend that our quarrel is only with a group of princes, soldiers, and officials at Potsdam and Berlin. The world would look more insane than ever if it were worth all this terrific effort to get rid of a swollen-headed potentate and his string of satellites. Moreover. the argument makes nonsense of another proposition strongly insisted upon by its authors. We declare that one of our main objects in the war is that of vindicating the right of every nation to decide its own destinies. Why, then, should we deny this right to the Germans? If they prefer to be saddled with their abominable dynasty it is not our duty, any more than it is in our interest, to liberate them. Why should we force democracy on a people who apparently do not want it and are very ill-equipped to use it properly?

The pretext is dishonest, and it may land us in highly inconvenient consequences. President Wilson is forming a new Holy Alliance. The Continental autocrats

in 1818 banded themselves together to maintain the principles of Christianity and legality, as they conceived them, in the internal government of nations. They believed, in perfect good faith, that liberalism and freedom of thought were immoral and dangerous, and they interfered on all sides to suppress movements that threatened the established order. If the Allies are to make a similar test of democracy, they may find themselves committed to similar responsibilities. Nothing would be less likely to promote the future peace of the world than that the United States, France, and Great Britain should undertake to supervise the political constitutions of other countries, great or small. If they make peace on the basis of the dethronement of the Hohenzollerns, are they going to intervene forcibly to prevent a restoration of the dynasty? Will they apply the same principles elsewhere? Suppose that our Russian friends grow tired of democracy and bring back Tsarism in some form. Having fought to make democracy triumphant among the Teutons, are we to sit still and see it brought to nought among the Slavs? We are using a two-edged weapon when we begin to dictate methods of government to other peoples. Russian patriots have not hesitated to inform us that the reasoning which authorizes us to upset autocracy in Prussia entitles them to demand revolution for India, Ireland, and Egypt, and they urge that the Conference which settles the fate of Germany should also discuss the affairs of the British Empire! If the world is to be forcibly remodelled to a "democratic" pattern it is difficult to see where the process is to stop.

We are fighting for quite other objects than these, and our statesmen, in their natural desire to make things easy for President Wilson and M. Kerensky, ought not to go too far in lending countenance

to a dangerous and untenable doctrine. Whatever may be the case with the confused enthusiasts of the Workers' and Soldiers' Committee, Englishmen are not shedding their blood (nor, for that matter, are the majority of Americans prepared to do so) to make democracy, or any other political system, prevail either in Germany or elsewhere. They are fighting, in the first place, in order to defend themselves and their Allies against an attack which menaces their existence; secondly, to exact punishment and reparation for intolerable wrongs. The Minister or the President who sacrificed lives by the hundred thousand for any abstract cause, however lofty or noble, would deserve to be sent to the scaffold, as Britons and Americans would admit if the issue were clearly placed before them in that form. We went to war because Germany invaded Belgium, attacked France, and threatened our own security; the United States

went to war because their citizens were denied the freedom to convey themselves and their goods across the high seas in safety. Our specific objects will have been achieved when we shall have compelled Germany to make retribution for these injuries and obtained guarantees against their repetition. And our claim against the German nation would not be weakened by one iota if it were to reform its constitution on the fullest lines of responsible or republican government. Very likely it will pretend to do so when it sees that the military and U-boat game is up and finds itself compelled to ask for peace, and thereby it might set a very awkward trap for the Allied negotiators if they keep on insisting that the Hohenzollerns and the Hapsburgs are their real enemies, and that they are only too anxious to clasp the deluded subjects of those aggressive monarchs in a fraternal and democratic embrace.—The Saturday Review, London.

## MELPOMENE AND THALIA

By LE BONHOMME CHRYSALE

ATURE, indifferent to the horrors of war, tranquilly brings to us the flowers of Spring and the grapes of Autumn. Similarly each season brings certain manifestations of social life which no catastrophe interrupts. In the months of June and July, the "class-day" of the Conservatory takes place. For good reasons there are no longer many young men in the school of the rue de Madrid, but young girls flock there. No one can blame them for pursuing the studies which will enable them to earn their living. Formerly the newspapers, by an unbridled publicity, excited the vanity of students. During the past three years this condition has changed. The examinations take place before a restricted audience, and these scholars, no longer

changed into phenomena by an excess of publicity, become really interesting. Impatient to achieve success, they make great efforts. You cannot imagine what passion and ardor they display in the course of lessons given them by masters as zealous, as impassioned as themselves.

The public is not admitted to these classes. I was, however, allowed one day to be present at one of them. The professor, no longer living, who consented to work before me, was a rather mediocre practitioner of the art that he taught. The gods had denied to him the greater part of the gifts which would have permitted him to shine in it, allowing him only that of loving and understanding it. He had a dull face, a discordant voice, and al-